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To promote popular participation as a means and goal of community development, the Bureau d'Amenagement de l'Est du Quebec (BAEQ) had to work within a milieu that favored traditional power structures over social participation in decision making. Phase 1 (May-September 1963) of this project was mainly a time for recruiting and training change agents and defining stragegies of change. In Phase 2, an information committee and local development committees were formed, and a participative survey and the first training sessions were held. Phase 3 (November 1964 to August 1965) was marked by transition and by creation of a second intervention mechanism. The final phase (September 1965 to March 1966) saw the emergence of new local elites and new administrative structures. Goals, methodology, and staffing were major problem areas. The lack of precise theories of social change, of a precise model of a modern society, and of a provincial plan and specific projects forced the BAEQ animateurs to concentrate on encouraging popular participation in forming a draft plan and an experimental model of consultative participation. (ly)

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'ANIMATION SOCIALE': THE EXPERIENCE OF THE BAEQ

by
MARC-A. MORENCY

ARDA

CONDENSED REPORT

CR-No. 14

CANADA
DEPARTMENT OF FORESTRY
AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

"ANIMATION SOCIALE": THE EXPERIENCE OF THE BAEQ

by
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Bureau d'Aménagement
de l'Est du Québec (BAEQ)

A technical annex to the Development Plan, 1967-72,
for the Pilot Region:
Lower St. Lawrence, Gaspé and Iles-de-la-Madeleine

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FOREWORD

This publication is part of the ARDA "Condensed Report - Rapport Abrégé" series, which is intended to convey information from ARDA research to more people than is possible through the full reports. The condensations are issued in French and English, but usually appear first in the language of the original report.

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Clearly, in the process of condensation, much of the original material must be omitted. While great care has been taken in preparing this condensation, readers are cautioned that quotations should not be made from it as representing the full report. Whenever possible, arrangements will be made for research workers to borrow the full report if the condensed version shows its relevance to their studies.

ANDRE SAUMIER
Assistant Deputy Minister
(Rural Development)

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"ANIMATION SOCIALE": THE EXPERIENCE OF THE BAEQ

INTRODUCTION

While any examination of the recent experience of the BAEQ in the sphere of *animation sociale* must reflect the short period of time to have elapsed since the end of the experience, it is also subject to two other limitations. First of all, such an undertaking must be limited by the unique nature of the experience itself and by the lack of specific terms of reference. Secondly, it is still too early to be able to examine adequately the results of a scientific evaluation of this process. Although such a sociological evaluation would produce a better description of the impact of *animation sociale*, it also would be restricted, of course, to a study of a limited number of events which took place during the life of the BAEQ mandate, neglecting those occurring after the BAEQ's work was finished.

Bearing these limitations in mind, in this report we will attempt tentatively to define, as empirically as possible, the *animation sociale* process as it was conducted from June 1963 until April 1966 by the BAEQ. However, before examining the *animation* activities, a few comments on the plan of this report would seem to be in order.

The first part of this report will try to make more explicit the conception of social change which led the BAEQ in this experiment in social action. At the very least, we will deal more extensively with the dominant concept in that respect. This concept involves the continual adherence, by the BAEQ, to the idea of integrated overall planning rather than piecemeal or project planning.

While this first part of the report may seem rather theoretical, it is very necessary to a complete understanding of *animation sociale* as practised by the BAEQ.

The second part of this study will look at the actual history of the BAEQ's *animation sociale* experience. This will involve an examination of the four distinct phases of the program: the launching (from May to the end of September 1963); the setting up of the first mechanism for intervention (from October 1963 to the end of October 1964); the setting up of a second intervening mechanism (from November 1964 to August 1965); and finally the consultative period. Each of these

phases will be looked at from several standpoints: the dominant conception of committees; the formal and material goals sought; the group focus of *animation sociale;* the *animation* clientele; the clientele in training; the methods used; and the principal problems met.

PART ONE: SOME CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

The BAEQ's Idea of Social Change

In order to begin to define *animation sociale* in any meaningful empirical way, we have chosen to examine the BAEQ's idea of social change from three directions: (1) the goals of intervention; (2) a description of the region's situation; (3) an attempt to interpret the intervention process. This descriptive work permits us to offer a first empirical definition of *animation sociale*.

Participation as a Means and a Goal of Development

Firstly, several scientific analyses have established that if culture (social structures and attitudes) is not changed along with changes in the other levels of society, be they economic or technological, then it is very difficult (if not impossible) to obtain a harmonious development through planning. Thus, the rejection of project or piecemeal planning in favour of overall planning clearly implies an intervention at the attitudinal level. Hence, in the eyes of the BAEQ, *popular participation* is seen as a *means* to such development.

In the second place, we should remember that our democratic society places great value on the participation of individuals or groups in the decision-making and change processes which affect them. Thus, *popular participation* also becomes a developmental *goal*.

In effect, since the plan represented a major decision affecting the region's population, two main tasks emerged. There was firstly the need to sustain and spread the BAEQ's conceptions of social participation in a social milieu which often blocks this form of participation, preferring instead to use the traditional structures of power which often do not favour development. There also was secondly the job of organizing an active way of participating in the planning process, and hence in defining the goals and means of development.

Two further tasks could be distinguished in this second aspect. One of these called for the training of leaders

to set up new participative structures. The other called for the use of *animation* in the consultative participation process itself.

These then are the dominant conceptions underlying the operations and very existence of the *animation sociale* agency.

We should say, too, that it is the second aspect, more philosophic than scientific, which most readily justifies the existence of *animation sociale*.[1] We also should acknowledge that the desired changes in attitude or organization do not necessarily justify the use of an *animation sociale* mechanism. This mechanism is introduced particularly by a philosophical belief in the participation of individuals and groups affected by the decision process. In a society where the neo-liberal philosophy is dominant, it is conceded that means such as *animation* are used to promote this participation. However, the fact that this participation is not based on scientific criteria explains why this participation and *animation sociale* are challenged by two different and opposed philosophies. These are the non-liberal and no longer dominant technocratic and conservative philosophies, each based on a paternalistic relationship between planners and planned.

In summary, we feel that the *animation sociale* efforts of the BAEQ have been useful in instilling the region's population with norms, values and attitudes that are suitable for and part of the developmental process. Moreover, we see this popular participation in decision-making as being both scientifically justifiable as a means of development, and philosophically desirable in a democratic political milieu.

These general conceptual considerations, then, lead us to look at the regional state of affairs in 1963.

The Region's Situation

The *animateurs* brought into the region found certain prevalent characteristics. There was a low population density, and this had promoted local solidarity and loyalty. On the other hand, they felt that the state of the region's culture had evolved sufficiently to permit the employment of an *animation sociale* mechanism while the plan was being worked out.

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[1] It should be understood that *animation sociale* is not always the only intervening mechanism available; moreover, it is not applicable in all types of societies nor in every stage of their development.

This consideration in turn led to the examination of several possible structural means of encouraging changes in attitudes and popular participation in the planning process.

Several known means of action were considered inappropriate to the goals of this venture in the Pilot Region. Thus, research in itself was not seen as a sufficient stimulant to action; nor were the mass media alone sufficient stimuli. These media were thought to be even less effective in a rural environment, where personal contact assumes a greater importance than in the urban environments where mass media are concentrated. Moreover, existing associations or voluntary groups were not felt to be sufficiently differentiated and adequately representative of all community interests; nor would the associations themselves permit actions aimed at bringing forth new leaders in their spheres. Finally the existing bodies would ask only to guide their specific projects, without having to consider the need to spread new norms and attitudes. Clearly, then, a new structural framework seemed necessary.

The *Animation* Agency

Perhaps it is appropriate at this stage to look at the BAEQ's *animation* agency. This was, basically, a specialized agency made up of multi-specialized *animateurs* who would be working at three levels: attitudes; understanding of planned development; and specific projects for development (silviculture, extension, etc). These development agents, employing varying styles - oriented toward groups, and at the same time toward the goals of the agency - would also have their own public information unit (with radio-television and newspaper sections). The *animation* and information services were designed to work in complementary ways so that the information process could operate at two levels, in line with the notion of the "two-step flow" of information, and *animation* would proceed in parallel with the progress of the BAEQ's research teams.

The Processes and Phases of Social Change: An Attempt at Interpretation

Social change in the Pilot Region can be divided into three distinct periods.

(a) Before 1963

Before 1963, change was not oriented in any overall systematic way. Social organization was unbalanced and deteriorating, and characterized by a dependence on governments. Structurally, there was little differentiation between elites

and there was a general dependence of the population on the existing elites. Behaviour, too, generally was in accordance with established traditions.

(b) The Intermediate Situation: (1964 to the beginning of 1966)

The first intermediate phase involved the intervention of BAEQ's workers through an *animation* mechanism. Initially, this involved intervention at the role level through consultative study groups which helped local people to analyze rationally the local and regional situations.[2] At the same time these processes permitted developmental goals and means to be determined. This phase was characterized by occasionally rapid collapses of traditional patterns. We found that the setting up of the local committees, for example, was widely acclaimed by some segments of the population. This breaking down of patterns, however, in turn resulted in the dependence of rural elites on the imported leaders *(animateurs)*.

The second step in this first phase centered mainly around mobilizing popular support for the idea of a plan, and preparing the leaders for permanent participation in the planned development of the region. This involved, essentially, a definition of specific roles for the associations in the region, and restructuring of economic councils.

The final intermediate phase presupposed the emergence of a new elite *(Le Comité de Liaison de l'Est du Québec)* some of whose members had already participated in local, zone, and/or regional committees. This new elite has been charged with restructuring councils in order to set up the Regional Development Council (CRD). It is this elite which has taken over the guiding role of the imported leaders of the BAEQ.

(c) The Future Situation: (The 1982 Horizon)

The dominant social condition of 1982 will be one of a balanced developing society. The region's social structures will centre around self-correcting social structures that provide a continuous rational process of change and development. During this phase the leadership will be differentiated in terms of socio-economic interests and the population, through an enlightened public opinion, will be able to identify new leaders. Finally, behaviour will be directed through carefully considered analyses of situations, goals and means.

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[2] The use of objective data provided by the research teams was a major asset and an important aspect of the *animation* strategy.

PART TWO: THE HISTORY OF *"ANIMATION SOCIALE"* IN THE BAEQ

When looking at the history of *animation sociale* in the Pilot Region, we should remember that differences in conceptions, the novelty of the project, the problems of intervention in general, and the potential threat to the status quo of suggested social changes largely can explain the differences between the dominant conception of *animation sociale* and the actual application of the *animation* program. The present historical examination will be divided into four distinct phases.

Phase One (May to the end of September 1963):

The Launching of the Program

This was a period of recruiting and training *animateurs* and of defining the strategy of change by means of a new structure.

The first recruitment of *animateurs* by the BAEQ took place in May 1963, following the March 1963 memorandum to Premier Jean Lesage of the *Conseil d'Orientation Economique du Bas St. Laurent* (COEB). This memorandum defined the BAEQ project as a participative survey and asserted that the participation of the local population was essential to the development of the region. During the period when the plan was being worked out, the memorandum recommended the creation of committees in each locality to meet with a social worker and agronomist or forestry or fisheries specialist. It is also interesting to note that the text proposed a multi-functional role for the development committee: a fact-gathering or research role and also an implementation role. The local organisms, at municipal, zone and regional levels, the COEB memorandum said, should make up the working groups to carry out the plan.

The *animateurs*, during the June-July self-training period, seized on this view of committee functions and, in early 1964, started to spread the idea to promote strong local participation, and strong critiques of established organizations such as municipal councils or school commissions. The first *animateurs* shared a conception of popular democracy which sometimes showed a tendency to differ from the *animation* goals and strategies finally adopted, and which constitute an alternative to community development.

Also in the summer of 1963, those in charge in the BAEQ sought to look into the possibility of having data gathered by the population concerned. However, as a result of a Quebec Department of Agriculture and Colonization general questionnaire, it was concluded that each person must be dealt with individually.

This demolished the concept of participative survey promoted in the memorandum presented in May by the COEB. Through co-operation with the local committees, profiles on each locality were prepared. It was during this time that the *animateurs* began to study existing ARDA committees, their structures, operations and duties, to participate in a survey, and finally to set up descriptive files for each locality in the region. The *animateurs* at this time also restricted their activities to personal contacts. The information gathered was used to look at both the area and the occupational representativeness of the committees and to plan their re-organization.

In August, the *animateurs* had their first real chance to see the regional picture when they participated with their superiors in overall regional contact with the population. With the studying of existing scientific documents, including those made for the COEB, this total contact allowed the Planning Council to proceed to a first definition of the situation, to foresee some immediately realizable projects, to meet local elites and to diffuse the first information on the current experiment. The first information campaign was being delayed by difficulties in recruiting a specialist in this field. The information chief's job remained vacant until the spring of 1964.

Also in August an important discussion on the strategy of intervention was held. This discussion showed one group believing that existing leaders or associations could be re-oriented toward development, with a second group holding that the associations were not sufficiently different from one another, and not sufficiently regionally or developmentally oriented, to be influenced by a direct approach. It was this latter, dominant conception that showed these leaders and associations possibly seeking to use the *animateurs* to further local or particular interests. However, these local organizations, the *animateurs* felt, could be influenced and more easily redefined by the mobilization of their leaders into a thoroughly new structure. Thus the BAEQ limited its work among associations, sending only one *animateur* on information trips.

This strategy stressed the study aspect of the local committees, who would analyze the social, economic and physical environments, guided by local leaders or by the county *animateurs*. The next step would be improvement committees, which would utilize and develop general research in terms of action programs in each sector of socio-economic activity. This sectorial research was to be based on popular participation (through associations, for example, the *Union Catholique des Cultivateurs*, Chambers of Commerce, etc.) and on specialists.

Clearly, then, the functions of the committees had changed considerably from implementation to research since the COEB memorandum.

Phase Two (October 1963 to the end of October 1964):

Setting Up The First Intervention Mechanism

The period between October 1963 and the end of October 1964 can be seen as the time when local development committees and the *animation-information* agency were being formed, and the participative survey and first training sessions were being held.

The visits to the associations were continued as the *animateurs* met with the existing committees and sought to focus on committee procedures and to inform the members on the roles of the BAEQ, the *animateurs* and the local committees. On October 23, 1963, the BAEQ professional teams took part in the meeting of the COEB at Cabano, and tried to impart development information. During the same month the first televised broadcast took place.

November brought the hiring of an official to take charge of the *animation* program. The five existing *animateurs* went into their territories to form local committees in each of the 200-odd localities in the region. In the case of ARDA committees to be restructured, the formation of sub-committees was the occasion for introducing new figures. In the local areas the *animateurs* made personal contacts before they held founding meetings. The *animateurs* were to serve their difficult apprenticeship at these meetings. They alone would have to face the local rural elites.

The first months of 1964 brought the regrouping of local elites and criticism of traditional solutions. During this time the *animateurs* concentrated on personal contacts, presiding at meetings, committee gatherings, forming sub-committees and sought to convince the leaders that research must precede action.

In doing this the *animateurs* wanted to discover the leaders who might benefit most from the first training sessions to be held in March, 1964. These weekend sessions, held at the county level, were conducted with the help of the specialists from the Research Service, as well as the now eight *animateurs*. The sessions dealt with regional development from economic, social, and biophysical viewpoints.

By the end of March a public information director was appointed and the second stage (the first had been the formation of committees) could be begun, and an occupational survey was launched. This study was to serve as an initiation for the local committees into collecting facts and making rational choices of the goals and means of development.

In March a training session for the *animateurs* was held in order to reach a consensus on *animation* techniques and on the orientation of the team. According to the reports sent by the *animateurs* to their superiors this objective seems to have been more or less attained. Some committees, too, were ready to do all the work expected of them and lent themselves to the pre-tests of procedures for the inquiry.

By May the approximately 160 French-speaking local (rural) committees received their copies of the labour-force questionnaire for approximately 220,000 respondents. Inventory and discussion guides for the committees were also circulated.

During this first year of the BAEQ's short life, an evolution had taken place. Past and present efforts had been assessed. The overall strategy had been planned and the Yellow Book outlining some of the ideas fundamental to the program had been released.

This Yellow Book, which became the foundation of popular participation in the BAEQ area, held that development of the region depended on the idea of each person participating as much as possible in his individual and collective growth. In order to redefine a situation, it advocated that the people should participate as fully as possible in decision-making. Popular participation was seen as a goal, and *animation sociale* as the means to achieve this participation.

Thus, by steps, the individual was to become his own master, leaving his traditional situation behind him. Through a truly participative structure, participation ought to be able to motivate itself.

These themes were to be carried in the BAEQ radio shows, *"Pére Clophas"*, and the weekly newspaper *"l'Aménagement"*.

It was during this period, too, that the various parts of the *animation* division began to assume quite distinct but related functions. Thus, we find an *animatrice* active among the women to mobilize them into local committees, a priest-sociologist among the clergy, and still another *animateur* working among the associations. In July the committees received the bulk of their inventory and discussion guides. The National Film Board, after its interesting experience with a film to help *animation* in St. Octave de l'Avenir (a remote settlement), was at work on films to be projected in the localities.

In August, as preparation for the zone committees to be formed in the autumn, the first urban committees were founded. In September, *"l'Aménagement"* noted that six out of 12 urban committees had been formed and some 3,000 out of 4,000 possible

committee members were enlisted. The *animation* team by then included 17 professionals, 14 of these working in the field. A new research section, too, had been added to the structure, an evaluation of the intervention began, and some of the more dynamic committees had evolved from investigating to public information. Others had begun to be interested in specific projects, for example a regional handicraft co-operative.

The officials in charge devoted some of their time during the summer to defining the functions and structure of the zone committees. By mid-October the principle outlined in the Yellow Book was accepted. This stated that the zone was to be formed from the group of communities situated in the zone of influence of a particular hub or centre. The zone committees were to represent the decision centres found inside such zones, and would comprise representatives of local committees. Certain association representatives also were to be attached to these bodies. These committees, with the representatives of all decision centres, were to increase communications in order to promote the identification of common goals.

At the regional level, too, the Yellow Book foresaw the setting up of sectorial improvement committees as sub-committees of the regional councils. These sub-committees would be formed from representatives of the zone committees and governmental agents, and would be charged with the exploitation and management of a single resource. The committees would evaluate specific projects suggested at the zone level.

After discussion among planners, the *animation* director and the political scientists and sociologists, the functions of a participative structure were redefined. These shifted the emphasis from working out a plan to the establishment of a continuous planning process with the preparatory and implementation processes going on simultaneously. In sum, the region's future society not only will have research and *animation* structures, but also local governments capable of making decisions and staffed by competent officials.

Phase Three (November 1964 to August 1965):

Transition and Setting Up a Second Intervention Mechanism

The late fall of 1964 was significant in the history of *animation sociale* in the region. At this time the annual meeting of the COEB studied the role of development committees, associations, governments, and other planning bodies in the preparation and implementation of a development plan. This meeting illustrated the consultative character of the development committees and economic councils, and pointed up the need to consider integrating them.

Another significant event at this time was the very successful adult education project sponsored by the BAEQ through local committees. This pilot *animation* project, designed to help remedy the lack of professional training found in the labour force, was without doubt greatly needed by the local population, especially since the analysis of the labour force aspects done by the local committees. The survey had spread the attitude that education was the right of all, and not merely of a select few.

Throughout this period the needs of *animateurs* to work through committees to ensure popular participation, and at the same time to use personal contacts to promote local leadership, sometimes conflicted. Such conflicting needs led to setting up a centre to train development leaders. By mid-December the Centre for Studies in Regional Development had held its first session, with some 20 persons from Gaspé south participating in the five-day session. Throughout 1965 and 1966 the Centre was to receive 1,000 such leaders. By mid-December, too, seven out of a possible eight zone committees were ready to operate, their first job being to consolidate local reports into zonal reports.

In order to reach a larger public, efforts were concentrated on persuading local committees to hold public information meetings. In these endeavours *Télé-Clubs*, using television broadcasts beamed to local information sub-committees who would discuss the subjects, were employed extensively with much success in this utilization of the "two-step flow" information process.

In January-February 1965, the team looked back over its successes. During 1964, 175 rural, 15 urban and seven zone committees held some 7,000 meetings, and some 4,000 persons working in sub-committees produced 600 reports and 175 consolidations of local reports. In March alone some 7,000 persons were taking extension courses. In April 1965, the *Télé-Club* program came to a successful end with 324 clubs in existence instead of the forecast 200.

Meanwhile, the zone committees had finished their summary reports and were ready to compare their interpretations of the same data with BAEQ officials. Also, the local committees were busy analyzing the zone committee reports. During the summer the *animation* research staff met with 236 area leaders to assess the development of attitudes and opinions during the past year.

The end of this third phase brought a clarification of the constant evolution of *animation*, and showed it as definitely engaged in the process of consultation. This evolution

is shown in three ways: the strategy planned; the addition of regional consultative committees at the top of the committee structure; and the alteration of the *information-animation* agency's structure.

Of these developments, perhaps the most relevant to our discussion was the restructuring of the agency to permit teams of *animateurs* to work together according to a certain specialization in tasks. The Planning Council's text, "Popular Participation in the First Plan for the Pilot Region" (September 1965), reiterated the importance of participation in the developmental process and explicitly linked *animation sociale* with developmental efforts. The report held that if development were to be seen as the coherent changing of socio-economic structures, then the people's participation would be necessary as both a means and an end. Moreover, such popular participation, the report suggested, could not be based on existing groups, since many groups had vested interests, very few were truly regional in outlook, and natural leaders were rare. This state of affairs required the creation of new structures.

The tasks of *animation* may be seen, then, as laying the bases for true long-term participative structures, and accelerating and making clearer the functions of popular consultation in order to prepare the First Plan more easily. It is this phase which will be outlined in the next section.

Phase Four (September 1965 to March 1966):

Consultation

The shift in the prevailing idea of committees, so that they came to be regarded no longer as training grounds for leaders but as part of the consultative organization's substructure, was conspicuous throughout various aspects of the *animation* experience. However, the consultative approach, it was recognized, could involve the *animation* team not merely to the benefit of regional or zone committees but to the detriment of local committees, since the latter's tasks had been achieved. The *animateurs'* clientele, then, would be local elites grouped into zone committees, representatives of associations, governmental bodies and a few specialized consultants.

The clientele of the Centre for Studies in Regional Development would be recruited among the local English-speaking leaders, the zone committee leaders, association representatives, mayors and presidents of school boards. The Centre also would utilize various training techniques. These techniques in turn would be tried out, and used by the committees in the field.

In September, when the zone committees were beginning their study of the Draft Plan, the first regional consultative committee, one for fisheries, was formed. The newly established committees' functions included study, *animation* and consultation, but not implementation or improvement as in the original conception. In addition, the regional committees were to study the zone reports.

At the end of September, the *Conseil Régional d'Expansion Economique de la Gaspésie et des Iles-de-la-Madeleine* (CREEGIM) proposed to integrate the participative structures with the regional councils, an idea which had been expressed in March 1964, and also in the Yellow Book. The *Conseil* also suggested that the councils be given an *animation* task after the presentation of the Plan.

As a whole, consultation on the Draft Plan was a difficult task to organize. The study of the plan called for the continuous presence of *animateurs* in zone sub-committees. However, the use of summary tables and lists of consultation points made real consultation possible despite the demands on time and attention resulting from intensive study of the draft. The draft in turn provoked the convening of the Estates-General of the cities of Rimouski and Riviére-du-Loup. Chambers of Commerce also sought to redefine themselves within the new institutional perspective and to redefine their conceptions of local and regional development.

In December the consultation was concerned with the structure of the regional development office to be set up following the end of the BAEQ's work. Fundamentally the discussions centred around administrative deconcentration, with a parallel reorganization of governmental bodies, i.e. municipal regrouping and the creation of a new municipal or regional government.

The spring of 1966 was devoted to defining the institutional framework for consultation, *animation* and representation. It was then proposed to unify the regional councils into a regional development council. The establishment of the new council rested on the efforts of the regional elites and of the new body charged with continuing the structural change process in the region, the *Comité de Liaison de l'Est du Québec* (COLEQ).

In concluding the comments on this final phase, it is worthwhile to point out a few of the major problems of the BAEQ experience.

First of all, as regards goals, the training of professional *animateurs* revealed numerous difficulties resulting in different conclusions and actions. In some cases participation

became the only goal of some *animateurs* and not just a means of development. Other *animateurs* had great difficulty in filling a multiple role. Still others differed over the type of *animation* required and in their conceptions of the role of group effort in *animation* work. Differences in rates of group change or in the effectiveness of intervention could not be too marked due to the constant necessity of obtaining consultation for the First Plan.

As for the internal structures of the agency, three positions - agency co-ordinator, *animation* chief and chief of information - were difficult to fill. Also information, with its reliance on some traditional techniques, did not play a thoroughly effective role among the general population. Instead, the information program concentrated on reaching leaders. Due to a general lack of information, the *animateurs* became the opinion leaders in the eyes of the local leaders, and this situation in turn helped to reinforce a traditional tendency to regard information as a privilege.

Due to the lack of precise scientific theories of social change, to the lack of a precise model of a modern society, and to the lack of a provincial plan and specific projects, the *animation* staff of the BAEQ had to place most of its emphasis on encouraging popular participation in working out the Plan, and in working out an experimental model of consultative participation.

CONCLUSION

In order to define an *animation* policy precisely, it seems to us, the BAEQ experience suggests that goals be looked at from two distinct viewpoints. The first of these is based on a scientific theory of economic and social development, and considers participation as a means of development. The second, for philosophical reasons, views participation as a goal in itself.

We also would like to offer a few recommendations for future *animation* efforts. We feel that an *animation* policy placed within a philosophical concept of development should take account of the usefulness of specialized agencies in achieving this end, that it should utilize multi-purpose specialists, and that *animateurs* in turn should employ a flexible approach. Moreover, emphasis should be placed on the need for information aimed at and written for the general public, and not just for a restricted elite. This should be planned and carried out in close co-operation with the *animation* team, making use of the "two-step flow" of information. After looking at the literature on the subject, it also seems to us that generally it is easier to set up new structures than to adapt existing ones to developmental thinking.